



Peace & Security Operate Within a Quadruple Nexus

By Babafemi A. Badejo, Ph.D

CEO, Yintab Strategy Consults

Former Deputy Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Somalia &
Former Head of Political Affairs, UN-AU Hybrid Mission in Darfur, Sudan

Protocols

One of the changes from virtual meetings is the inability to immediately know the who is who among participants.

Nonetheless, let me quickly recognize the Country Directors of UNIC & UNESCO in Nigeria, Indefatigable Engineer Owolabi of UNAN, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I consider it a great privilege and honour for me to be requested to give a speech at the 2020 International Peace Day Townhall and Community Gathering. It is a pleasure to reminisce after 23 years and 10 months activist role in the pursuance of peace in the Horn, West and East Africa.

The 2020 International Peace Day is significant for two reasons:

- It is the 20th Anniversary of the UN Resolution on the Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace
- Secondly, it comes at a time when the world is facing a global pandemic: Covid-19 amidst all other global crisis in Latin America, the Middle East, Africa and in particular, Nigeria.

Covid-19

Covid-19 teaches us about the interconnectedness of States. The well-being of our neighbours is the well-being of our own people or nation.

Covid-19 presents opportunity to work together in the face of a common enemy and also the tendency for geopolitics and pursuit of more self-contained interest or foreign policies

Thankful to UNGA for adopting new resolution on Covid-19 for “intensified international cooperation and solidarity to contain, mitigate, and overcome the pandemic and its consequences.

Covid-19 also exposed poor healthcare systems and state of poor hygiene facilities

New wave of economic changes, forced job losses, technological changes and disruptions and effects on youth would ultimately affect peace, security and development

Covid-19 revealed new waves of vulnerabilities for Women and Girl child. Need to address gender inclusion in troubling times

Covid-19 is affecting prospects for achieving SDGs

UN Given Principal Charge for Peace

UN Charter Article 1 on purposes of the organization

To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

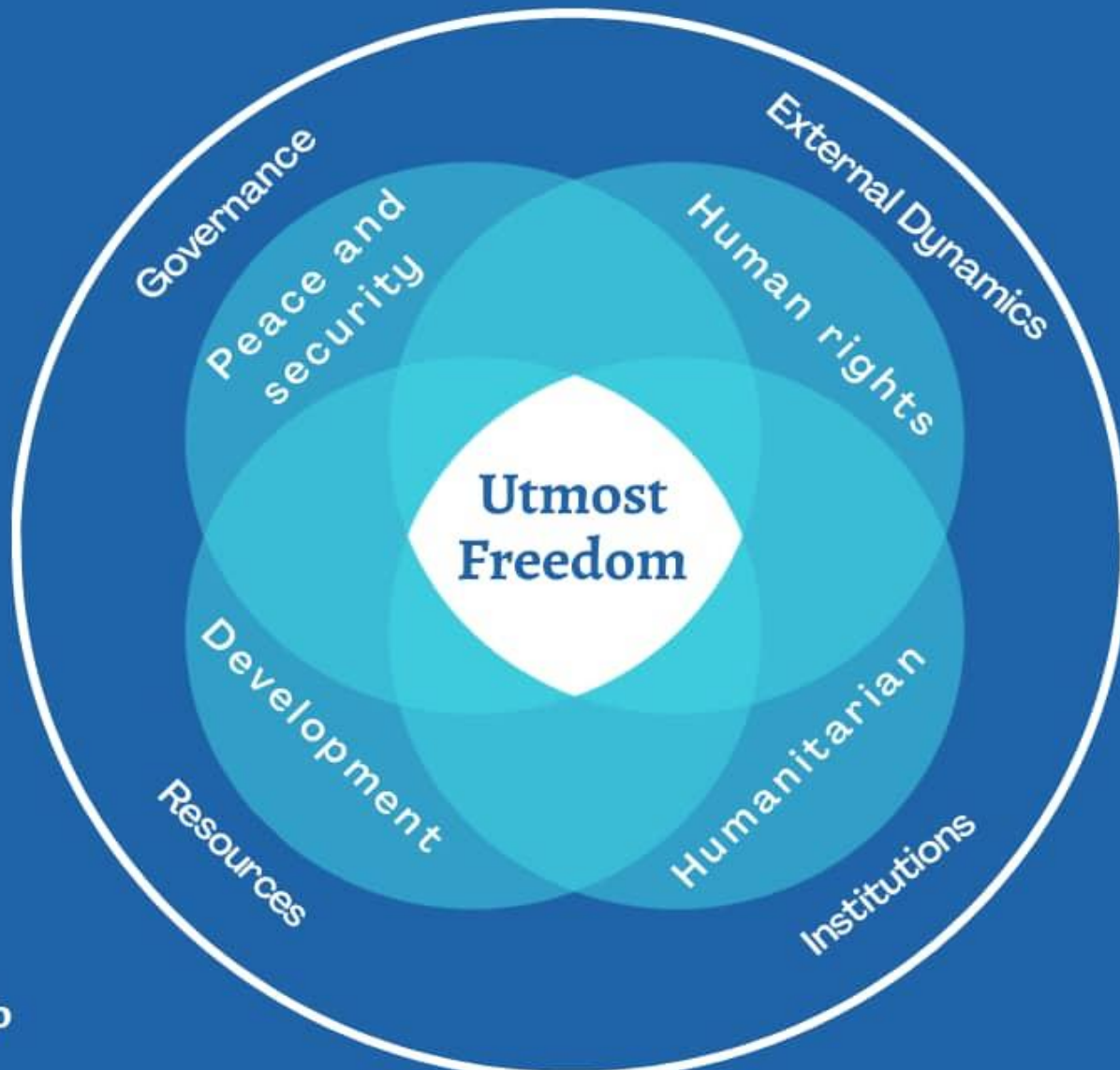
To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Causes of Conflict per African Union

According to the Africa Governance Report of 2019, the African Union has identified seven causes of conflicts and instability as follows:

- Poverty and inequality;
- Disruptive transitions, for example, from autocratic to democratic rule and vice versa;
- Lack of democracy or democratic accountability;
- Population pressure, social and economic exclusion;
- Protracted violence, particular large-scale ones that are prone to relapse;
- Spill-over effects from neighbouring countries; and
- Poor political and natural resource governance.

THE QUADRUPLE NEXUS & INTRA-STATE PEACE



(c) B.A. Badejo

Utmost Freedom

The summation of all the freedoms essential for the good life in society. It is also an ideal state of freedom in society to be aspired to.

Freedom from want of basic human needs: hunger, poverty

Freedom of expression and association

Freedom from discrimination

Freedom of access to information: shut down of WhatsApp and Facebook

Freedom from fear of insecurity

Freedom of access to justice

Imagine a perfect state we can all aspire to in which we have all we need in terms of freedom without interfering with the freedom of others: paradise on earth

Governance: Leadership Failure & Corruption

Visionary leadership is crucial on overall management of purposeful efforts towards utmost freedom. Leadership failure/deficit results in the opposite.

Efficient management of inequalities: gender, generational and ethnicities, with the latter constantly manipulated results in tensions, conflicts and war all of which result in humanitarian problems and arrest of development.

Corruption is not easily understood. I define it as: the abuse of power and/or authority, including manipulation of rules or opportunities, or extortion from another in the public, private or social realms for self or filial/familial relations or inducement (bribery), by another in furtherance of undue gain to the self or a desired third party.

Failure to eschew corruption, lack of transparencies and failure of accountability are the bane of opportunities towards utmost freedom.

Governance: Leadership Failure & Corruption

State Governors in Nigeria according to Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC) pocket well over N208.8bn every year as security votes with nothing to show for it. Contra the 371,800 Nigerian Police Force with a budget of N409bn for 2020.

But the tragic irony is that half of the 371,000 officers of the Nigerian Police, paid & maintained by the federal budget of N409bn are deployed protecting & serving state Governors, local government Chairmen & their families, principal officers, top state party men & their families while the Governors pocket N208bn for nothing & the rest of the citizens remain at the mercy of criminals.

Need to shift ethno-religious tinted fixation away from the centre & focus more on the looting of states' resources with impunity by governors, making states' governors accountable & electing governors with integrity, quest for development & better standards of living will continue to be a mirage.

Institutions

The problem of efficient institutions is not limited to the arms of government like the Executive, Legislature and the Judiciary. It includes entities/bodies created by the Executive that are corruption free to deliver on projects for development, security etc.

Private institutions like financial institutions etc.

Social institutions like religious bodies; Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

External Dynamics

The totality of influences, whether positive or negative, affecting policy choices of a state. They are opportunities and challenges that a state has to contend with.

Relationships that a state or groups of states have in place with major international interests that could offer positive support or overwhelm a state.

The capacities of governments and institutions do matter and could represent the extent to which the state is able to move people towards utmost freedom.

More like impact of other countries. Sino-American rivalries, French/British control over the economies of former colonies for good or bad

Nature of coordination between states affected by common challenges. For example Nigeria and states in the chad basin, cooperating to tackle the Boko Haram menace.

Foreign policy of states, versus nature of global peace and security.

External aides politics of neo-colonialism

Brain drain and flight of best brains affecting development

Resources

Capacity to exploit natural blessings of nature. Resource abundance becoming a curse than blessing. Poverty, and suffering from conflicts resulting from poor management of resources. 40% of civil wars in Africa comes from management of natural resources.

Capacity to extract resources from the external environment

Access to financing

lack of funding in itself is not the sole nature or complete reflection of the challenge with financing

Increase in financing support equally presented challenges in terms of transparency, accountability, coordination and policy coherence.

Special attention needs to be given to ensure that resources provided are aligned with nexus priorities.

Some donation/funding do not encourage country-level prioritisation and coordination for effecting the quadruple nexus, with rigid external interest

Conflict in Nigeria: Northeast vs Boko Haram

Boko Haram “western education is forbidden” is a militant Islamic group working out of Nigeria, wanting to institute sharia, with **Strong holds in Nigeria: Yobe, Borno, Bauchi, Kano & Kaduna**

Started about 1999, organized properly under Mohammed Yusuf, centred in Maidugiri, Borno state. 2003- first major attack, with about 200 militants. Since then consistently, in 2009, till June 2020 in the heat of the pandemic series of attacks leaving traces in deaths, destructions, internally displaced persons and humanitarian crisis has persisted.

According to the Global Conflict Tracker, with data gathered from the NST between June 2011 to June 2018, 2,021 incidents were documented, with more than 37,530 people killed. The attacks beginning from 2012, escalated quickly from 2014-2015. In 2016, some massive victories were recorded especially with combination of forces from Cameroon, Chad and Niger.

About 2.5m estimated IDPs in lake Chad Basin and nearly 244,000 estimated Nigerian refugees.

About 18,950 Boko Haram deaths, about 15,953 civilian deaths, and 1,958 state actors' deaths

Prior to 2015, more attacks were carried out on churches than mosques. This pattern reversed in 2015.

Conflict in Nigeria: Northeast vs Boko Haram

Over the past seven years, Boko Haram has demonstrated flexibility and remains a formidable threat to the Nigerian state despite losing much of its territory. Though the group is undoubtedly less powerful than it was in 2015, there is no sign that the government will defeat it in the foreseeable future.

In the meantime, the pervasive threat of violence sharply curtails the ability of the Nigerian governments on development (implements galore in Maiduguri) and the international aid organizations and donor countries to provide humanitarian relief.

There are many unanswered questions about Boko Haram's staying power. Chief among these is the extent of the group's popular support and the extent to which the security agencies/individuals are fueling Boko Haram recruitment and financing.

Conflict in Nigeria: Northwest vs Terror Groups

At least 1,165 people were killed in violent attacks in the Northwestern region of Nigeria between January and August this year. No fewer than 113 people were also kidnapped in the region in the last eight months, a report by a non-governmental organisation, Nigeria Mourns. According to their sources majorly from newspaper reports, police and family informants, seven states in the northwest were focused on with the following details. Kaduna – 468, Katsina – 376, Zamfara – 204, Sokoto – 96, Kano – 10, Jigawa – 10 and Kebbi – 1.

The report states that 1,068 persons were killed by suspected armed bandits, five by Boko Haram/ISWAP, 73 by armed herdsmen, six died in isolated attacks and 13 from extrajudicial killings.

In five communities in Southern Kaduna, at least 33 people were killed by gun men of Fulani extraction, despite 24 hours curfew between the 5-7th of August, 2020. The attacks on targeted farming populations in southern Kaduna started in January, but surged in July amidst the pandemic

Conflict in Nigeria: Northcentral/South vs Terror Groups

Propelled by desertification, insecurity and loss of grazing land, to increasing settlements, the southward migration of Nigeria's herders is fueling competition over land with local farmers, in complex, multi-dimensional conflicts. These conflicts also carry along huge humanitarian toll, with tens of thousands forcibly displaced, properties, crops worth billions of naira destroyed

In 2016, pastoral conflicts accounted for more deaths in Nigeria than Boko Haram, according to Crisis Group, an estimated death toll of 2,500 in 2016.

Aside from Benue, there were similar attacks in Taraba, Adamawa, Cross River, Delta and Enugu States. According to another report, in 2016, over 2,000 people were killed and tens of thousands displaced in Benue and Kaduna alone. Another incidence involving herders accounted for 44 percent of all fatalities in the country in 2016.

The 2015 Global Terrorism Index shows that the farmers-herders conflicts resulted in over 800 deaths by 2015. The trend continued in different states, up till 2018 and 2019. The spread to the South West, in a number of high-profile kidnapping and deaths have been. Samuel Ortom reports that more than 1,878 people were killed between 2014 and 2016.

Impact of Lack of Peace and Security

Human rights; growth & development cannot be realized not to talk of sustained in an environment devoid of peace & security.

- Human rights suffer with Mafia type situation; extra judicial killings etc
- Lack of growth & development hampers trade. Volume to trade/movement of goods and services.
- Inability to build resilience for humanitarian problems
- Conflicts/terrorism make policing of borders difficult.
- Resource diversion from capital investment to combatting/mediating conflicts/terrorism.
- Conflicts raise cost of doing business.
- FDI to alternative places.

Fundamental Impact of Lack of Peace & Security in Nigeria

Worsening Indices of Nigeria at the International Level

Nigeria's Corruption Index **2016 136/176 & 2019 146/180**

Nigeria in the world on the Fragile (Failed) States Index 16/178 2016 & 14/178 in 2020

Nigeria on the terrorized states list 3/163 in 2015-2017 and 3/163 in 2020

Nigeria 131 on Ease of Doing Business 2016 145/190 & 2020 131/190

Nigeria in Human Development Index in 2016 152/158 and in 2018 is 158/189

Threats to the foundation of Nigeria: Self-Determination answer to Governance Deficit.

Biafra reawakened

Oodua Republic, Southwest and Kwara/Kogi states loudest under this administration

Takuruku Republic Tiv; Federal Republic of the Middle Belt with Gideon Orkah as hero

Flight of external investments

What is to be done:

Comprehensively address problems using slide 5: Governance; Institutions; External Dynamics and Resources.

Government strengthening security, implementing proactive conflict resolution mechanisms.

Embracing advanced means of cattle rearing: ranches of the past.

Addressing humanitarian factors driving the migration pattern.

Better coordination for cross-border movements.

Clear diagnosis of root causes, evolution, impacts and implications.

Adopt a full human security approach, addressing poverty, illiteracy, unemployment.

Check access to small arms.

Local security architecture.

Community involvement.

Peace Operations Spectrum: Tracks I & II & III

Preventive Diplomacy: Peacemaking of a kind

Backchannel Diplomacy: Unofficial, CSOs Track II

People to people even could be defying govt Track III

Peacemaking to get Agreement

Peacekeeping to Allow Implementation of Agreement:

- Institution-building; Rule of Law; Judiciary

Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Sustaining Peace to Avoid Relapse

Many thanks for
your attention
